

Medieval London

Collected Papers of Caroline M. Barron

Edited by
Martha Carlin and Joel T. Rosenthal



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RESEARCH IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN CULTURE

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Chivalry, Pageantry and Merchant Culture in Medieval London*

CHIVALRY HAS BEEN DEFINED as 'the code and culture of a martial estate which regarded war as its hereditary profession'.¹ The development, from the twelfth century onwards, of secular courts as centres of clerical and lay culture, provided the context in which chivalry developed from the code of individual warriors into 'a sophisticated secular ethic' with its own mythology, erudition and rituals which gave tangible expression to its 'ideology of honour'.²

If, therefore, chivalry was predominantly martial and aristocratic, as well as Christian, then we would not, perhaps, expect to find it flourishing in the peace-loving, mercantile urban communities of medieval Europe. Indeed it has been shown how, in late medieval Germany, it was the lesser nobility who formed knightly leagues in order to protect their interests in the face of the growing strength of the towns. At tournaments these knightly societies met 'to set themselves off against the townsfolk'.³ Yet, in the towns of Flanders and north-eastern France, in Ghent, Lille, Douai, Bruges, Tournai and elsewhere, the urban patriciate and the rural nobility joined together to promote, and to participate in, *festes* and tournaments in the fourteenth century. Dr Juliet Vale has argued that in the annual *feste de l'espinette* at Lille, and in the famous *feste du roy Gallehault* held at Tournai in 1331, for example, there is nothing to suggest that there was antipathy between the nobility and the urban elite. Not only did the towns provide and pay for the heralds, but they also erected the scaffolding and enclosed the market place for the occasion. The local burghers joined with the nobility in the battles. Dr Vale has argued that the urban patriciate knew enough of Arthurian romance and armorial traditions to be able to understand the framework of the tournaments, and to give and receive challenges. At Tournai it was the heralds who allocated arms and provided a link between the urban elite and the seigneurial rural society. It would seem that in this urban society of northern Europe the bourgeois inhabitants of towns considered

themselves to be men of honour: they assumed a noble life-style and they bore arms.⁴ Prevenier has argued that in the Low Countries the well-to-do burghers imitated the behavioural patterns of the nobility, and could be found reading courtly literature.⁵ Chivalry, therefore, was as much a determinant of the code and culture of these northern townsmen as it was of the castle-bound rural nobility. John Larner has observed a similar pattern in Italy where the lords of the contado were happy to become citizens of the towns, and there was no clear distinction, at least in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, between bourgeois and knightly culture, rather they both shared the chivalric ethic.⁶

But when we cross the channel to England the picture appears to be quite different. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries London was influenced in many ways by the economy and culture of Flanders,⁷ and yet the mayor and aldermen of London never, so far as we can tell, organised civic jousts or tournaments, nor did the City pay the salary of a herald. Although tournaments, in the fourteenth century, took place quite frequently within the City, yet they were not of the City. London citizens do not appear to have taken part in these tournaments which were organised by the Crown for the delectation of the court. It is significant that, in this period, no Londoner ever became a member of the Order of the Garter.⁸

The heart or well-spring of chivalry in fourteenth-century England, and indeed throughout the medieval period, was the royal household. It was the household officers who organised the tournaments, and the Royal Wardrobe that equipped and clothed them. In the fourteenth century the royal household moved around the country much less frequently than it had done in the Angevin period. Moreover the radius of its activity had narrowed so that London was rarely more than a day's ride away. The most favoured royal residences were Windsor, Eltham and Sheen.⁹ Dr Vale has listed fifty-five tournaments (jousts and *hastiluda*) that took place at the court of Edward III between 1327 and 1357: many of these took place near London, at Stepney, Windsor, Dartford or Dunstable, and five took place within the City itself.¹⁰ The first of Edward III's London tournaments, and perhaps the most famous, was held in Cheapside in September 1331, only three months after the elaborate tournament held in Stepney to celebrate the first birthday of the king's eldest son. The Cheapside tournament has been particularly remembered because the stand erected to

accommodate the ladies of the royal household collapsed. In spite of this mishap, it was a spectacular occasion. A solemn procession on the Sunday, in which noble ladies dressed in red velvet tunics and white hoods were led on silver chains through the City by knights dressed as tartars, was followed by three days of tourneying.¹¹ In what was probably the last tournament of Edward III's reign in 1375, Alice Perrers, dressed as the 'lady of the Sunne', rode in procession from the Tower, through Cheapside, to Smithfield. She was accompanied by a host of lords and ladies 'every lady leading a lord by his horse bridle'. At Smithfield the jousting lasted for three days.¹² It is clear from these examples that the Londoners cannot have been unaware of the tournaments which were taking place in their midst: many of them would have been spectators along the route of the processions and at the subsequent jousting. The aldermen may well have expected to entertain the knightly challengers to dinner, but there is no evidence that the Londoners themselves took part in the jousting.¹³ It is perhaps significant that at the three-day tournament held in London in May 1359 to celebrate the marriage of John of Gaunt with Blanche of Lancaster, the king, his four sons and nineteen other knights josted disguised as the mayor and aldermen of London, which would suggest that they were not expected to joust on their own account.¹⁴ The king and the household knights josted for the Londoners as a mark of respect and as a compliment, but the event tends to emphasise the fact that the London merchants did not themselves take part in tournaments. In England, tournaments were royal, household, events and, insofar as the Londoners played a part in them, it was as honoured guests, spectators and, no doubt, also as suppliers.

It is possible that there was some reluctance on the part of the Londoners to play host to these royal extravaganzas. After the 1331 Cheapside tournament, all the later London jousts were held at Smithfield. It may be that the citizens had objected to the closure of the City's busiest market thoroughfare for three days while the jousting took place. Doubtless the Londoners welcomed the increased trade which an influx of image-conscious young aristocrats brought to the City, but it was clearly more convenient if the jousting itself took place outside the City walls. It appears that the sheriffs of London were responsible in this period for erecting the bars and stands at Smithfield in preparation for these festivities. With the memory of the debacle in Cheapside in 1331 still green, the sheriffs may have undertaken this task with some reluctance.¹⁵ Such jousts sometimes provoked civic violence and lawless-

ness. When Richard II organised the famous jousts at Smithfield in 1390 to which several foreign knights were invited who jousting with English knights displaying the royal badge of the white hart, the mayor found it necessary to instruct the aldermen to ensure that a proper watch was kept in the City during the time of the 'revels and jousts' so that the City might not incur 'danger or disgrace'.¹⁶ These royal tournaments held in, or near, London have been seen as socially divisive, deliberately making a divide between 'the nobility on the one hand and the merchant class of the city on the other'.¹⁷ Sheila Lindenbaum has noted the difference between these London tournaments, where the citizens were merely spectators, and the communal and participatory tournaments at Valenciennes. It is true that the Londoners were 'merely spectators watching the world of chivalry pass through their city and superimpose a foreign identity on the landscape', but the issue is whether they wished to be included or not.¹⁸ It may well be that they chose to be excluded and were perfectly content with their own, distinct, urban culture.

But these great spectacle tournaments of the fourteenth century were to become obsolete in the next century. The last of the 'old style' tournaments probably took place in 1409. On this occasion a great eight-day play at Skinners Well (Clerkenwell) north of the city was followed by royal jousting at Smithfield when English nobles, led by John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, met French knights in battle.¹⁹ But after this there seem to have been no large scale royal jousts held at Smithfield for several decades. This may have been due to the absence of Henry V, the minority and personality of his son and the shortage of money. It is true that Sir John Astley in January 1442 jousting with some knights of Aragon in the presence of Henry VI at Smithfield. Indeed Astley was sufficiently pleased with his performance on this occasion (and others) to commission a drawing of this encounter to illustrate his own chivalric common-place book.²⁰ But, on the whole, tournaments were not a distinctive feature of the reign of Henry VI. The grand royal jousts at Smithfield held in 1467, therefore, have been characterised as part of a 'chivalric revival'.²¹ Throughout Europe, in the middle decades of the fifteenth century the large-scale, extravagant tournament was once more in fashion, spreading from Burgundy and France into Italy and Spain.²² The Smithfield tournament, in which Anthony Woodville, Lord Scales, the queen's brother, challenged Anthoine, count of La Roche, one of the illegitimate sons of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy (known as 'The Great Bastard of Burgundy'), was as much a diplomatic as a chivalric

event. It was the Yorkist court, influenced by the culture of Burgundy and anxious for a Burgundian alliance, which promoted the Woodville challenge, organised the tournament and ensured that no one was hurt during the jousting. The sheriffs of London found six thrifty carpenters to erect the lists, and the mayor and aldermen were allocated seats for the spectacle alongside the Burgundians who had come to cheer on their champion.²³ This was not a London occasion although it suited the participants that the jousts should take place in the City.

The attitude of the governors of London to the tournaments that took place within the mayor's jurisdiction seems to have been at worst grudging and anxious and at best tolerant and amused. There is little evidence that they were involved in this chivalric activity which was instigated by the king and members of his household.²⁴ The amused detachment of a fifteenth-century London chronicler who advised his readers who wished to have an account of the great tournament of 1467 that they should 'ax of em that felde the strokys, they can tell you best' may well reflect the nonchalant attitude of the London citizens.²⁵

If we may judge anything from the books bequeathed by London citizens in their wills, it would appear that here also their tastes were religious rather than chivalric. On the whole we are well-supplied with London wills and testaments for the years 1300 to 1500. There are, of course, problems in using the evidence of book bequests, or the lack of them, in wills since, by their nature, wills are likely to place greater emphasis on liturgical books. Moreover a testator might not list all his books in his will and the most popular texts might well have become old and worn, and so were not bequeathed.²⁶ But these eventualities would affect all will makers, not simply Londoners. Dr Susan Cavanaugh analysed hundreds of wills in which books are bequeathed, drawn up by men and women from all ranks of society in the period 1300 to 1450.²⁷ Many of these books contain bequests of books of a chivalric nature: Guy de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick who died in 1315 bequeathed thirty-nine manuscripts to the Cistercian Abbey of Bordesley in Worcestershire: of these twenty-one might be described as chivalric and included manuscripts such as 'The Romance of William Longsword', 'The Romance of Troy', 'The Romance of the Brut', 'A Romance of Alexander with pictures' and a volume dealing with the death of Arthur and Mordred.²⁸ Many of the wills of aristocratic and knightly testators record bequests of this kind, if not on the same scale. There are sixty-one wills noted by Dr Cavanaugh which may be broadly characterised as those of Londoners. Almost all the books listed

in these wills are religious: primers, missals, Bibles, Legends of Saints. Only three of these London testators mention chivalric books in their wills. Henry Graspays, a fishmonger who died in the Black Death in 1348 left his 'books of romanse' to his son, and William Kyng, a draper who had been an alderman, left his 'cronicles' in French to St Osyth's Priory in Essex, but all his other books, which he left to London parish churches, were religious.²⁹ In the next century, John Brinchele, a London tailor, left 'librum meum vocatum Talys of Caunterbury' to William Holgrave, his executor, but he also listed three copies of Boethius which were to go to other London friends.³⁰ The evidence of these wills would suggest only a luke-warm interest among the Londoners in the chivalric tales which were so popular with the gentry and aristocracy.³¹

Other samples of the wills of Londoners reveal the same picture. Sylvia Thrupp considered the twenty books mentioned in a group of sixteen London wills drawn up between 1403 and 1483. Here again the majority of books were religious ones, and those that were not were broadly 'useful': a dictionary, a group of grammar books, two copies of Higden's *Polychronicon* and a copy of the *Brut*.³² Only seventy-five, or 6%, of the 1300 or so testaments proved before the Archdeacon of London between 1395 and 1416 mention books and, of these, only two bequeath books of a chivalric nature.³³ Moreover one of the testators was Nicholas Hotot, an esquire (and not really a Londoner) who owned a copy of the *Brut* as well as religious works in English and Latin.³⁴ The other testator was William Ragenhall, the rector of St Mary Woolnoth, who owned a very considerable library which contained a history of the Trojan war and a Latin chronicle about the history of England. But Ragenhall was a cleric, not a citizen of London. John Carpenter, the influential common clerk of London who died in 1442, was an exceptional bibliophile, but he was certainly a Londoner. His extensive library contained a book on architecture, religious works, advice on letter-writing, legal treatises and classical authors: it did not contain romances or other chivalric literature.³⁵ As might be expected, chivalrous books and other chivalric objects passed through the hands of London merchants. In 1382 William Walworth, the adversary of Wat Tyler, recovered a debt from a merchant of Bruges by taking possession of 'a book of Romance of King Alexander in verse, well and curiously illuminated', which was valued at £10, and a very large cloth of Arras work representing the coronation of King Arthur valued at £6.³⁶ But when Walworth drew up his will three years later he bequeathed

twenty-one books which were all carefully named, but the 'Romance of King Alexander in verse' was not among them. Walworth left his religious books to various monastic houses around London and his considerable collection of law books to his brother, Master Thomas Walworth.³⁷ Clearly he was not sufficiently attracted by the Romance, or by the King Arthur tapestry, to keep them among his own possessions.

As the example of William Walworth well demonstrates, Londoners were not ignorant of chivalry: it is simply that they do not appear, in this period, to have adopted its codes and practices for themselves. It is possible that the London merchants may have been unfamiliar with the French language in which much, but by no means all, of the chivalric literature was written. But, in fact, many of the books bequeathed in London wills were written in French, the mayor and other civic officials took their oaths in French and many of the London returns to the guild enquiry of 1388 were written in French.³⁸ It is clear that Londoners were present as spectators at the great tournament processions of the fourteenth and later fifteenth centuries, and that the mayor and aldermen, together with their ladies, were honoured guests at joustings. Many of the splendid aristocratic and knightly jousts had town houses in London where they stayed with their households and entertained on a lavish scale.³⁹ Among the founder members of the Order of the Garter, Henry Grosmont, earl of Lancaster, had a grand house at the Savoy, and the Beauchamp earls of Warwick lived near Newgate in what was later to be known as Warwick Lane.⁴⁰ Moreover, when these flowers of chivalry died, they were often buried in the Friary churches of London: Sir Thomas Malory himself was buried in the Greyfriars church in March 1471. Above all, of course, the Londoners were most aware of chivalric practices as the suppliers of the trappings of the chivalric way of life. Many romance tales must have been written in London workshops, lances, spears, swords and axes made by armourers, gold and silver chains, tokens and rings fashioned in the goldsmiths' shops, velvet gowns, hoods and tartan costumes sewn by London tailors, pavilions and canopies made by tentmakers, elaborate saddles and horse furnishings by the saddlers, the silk tassels, fringes and tokens worked by London silkwomen, and all the feasts supplied by the London victuallers.⁴¹ Chivalry was as important to the economic well-being of the City as it was to the cultural self-satisfaction of the nobility: the two worlds were interdependent, but separate.

While it may have been the case that the Londoners were largely indifferent to chivalry, they were not uninterested in military matters

and, in particular, they were concerned with the defence of the City. By tradition the men of London were led into battle by the City's banneret, an office claimed in the thirteenth century, and perhaps earlier, by the Fitzwalter family who held the private fortress of Baynard's Castle lying to the west of St Paul's.⁴² In time of war the Fitzwalter banneret was expected to come to St Paul's bringing with him nineteen knights. There he was to be met by the mayor and aldermen who would hand over to him the City's banner bearing the image of St Paul in gold on a red ground, together with a well-caparisoned horse and twenty pounds in money. Thus authorised the banneret would muster the Londoners by ringing the great bell of St Paul's. The assembled host would then ride out of the City and the banneret would discuss with the mayor how the City might be best defended in the absence of the host.⁴³ This account, written into a City customal in the early fourteenth century, seems, perhaps, to be both fanciful and archaic. In the middle of the century the mayor and aldermen firmly denied Sir John Fitzwalter the privileges which had been his due in return for his military service which suggests that, by that date, these services were no longer of any value to the Londoners.⁴⁴ But the description of the role to be played by the Fitzwalters does suggest that, at the date when it was compiled, there was a clear distinction between the traditional knightly banneret and the non-fighting mayor and aldermen. It was the duty of the City's rulers to organise the defence of the City, and to pay for it, but not necessarily to carry it out themselves.

This account, however, seems to be in conflict with a customal dating from the reign of King John in which it was laid down that every parish should have its own *penuncellum* and every alderman was to have his own *baneriam*, and the men of the parish, grouped around their *penuncellum*, were to follow the alderman's banner 'to the place appointed for the City's defence'.⁴⁵ Here the role of the alderman is seen to be more active and military, as it is again in 1377 when the City lay under the threat of a French invasion. On this occasion the aldermen were instructed to muster the men of their wards under their own pennon which was to bear the arms of the alderman in relief: he was then to lead the men of his ward 'whithersoever commanded for the defence of the City'.⁴⁶ The role of the alderman is here perceived to be much more military: he is the leader of his troops and is expected to have a banner bearing his arms. What these arms might be will be explored later. But the military role of the mayor and aldermen is, clearly, ambivalent. On the one hand, in times of crisis, as in 1377, the

aldermen were made responsible not only for keeping the peace within their wards, but also for mustering troops for the City's defence. Yet, ten years later, Nicholas Exton, the mayor, refused Richard II's request for military help against the Appellants on the grounds that 'the inhabitants of the City were in the main craftsmen and merchants (*artifices et mercatores*) with no great military experience, and it was not permissible (*nec licuit eis*) for them to devote themselves to warfare, save for the defence of the City alone'.⁴⁷ Clearly this was an ambivalence that could be politically useful.

The men of London were able, doubtless, to fight: indeed a contingent of them was mown down at Lewes fighting for Simon de Montfort against the Lord Edward, but on this occasion they were a comparatively amateur army, a medieval version of the Home Guard, and not of the standard of the professional army of mounted knights who were trained to practise this specifically military function. In the fifteenth century, when the City was required to provide troops to fight in France, as in 1436, 1449 and 1451, the fighting force was raised by a levy on the city companies who procured, equipped and paid the soldiers.⁴⁸ In 1436, for example, the Goldsmiths provided two spearmen and twelve archers at a cost of £34 19s.⁴⁹ On these occasions the City appointed a captain to lead the London contingent: in 1449 they chose Sir John Astley (who had jousting at Smithfield with the knights from Aragon eight years earlier) and Sir Thomas Fynder, a veteran French campaigner, in 1451.⁵⁰ In these instances the mayor and aldermen organised the fighting force, and raised the money to pay for it, but appointed professional military captains to lead it: they did not themselves fight. On the other hand, when the City itself was attacked, the aldermen were, inevitably, involved more directly. In July 1451 Jack Cade and his followers had to be driven by force out of the City, and fierce fighting took place on London Bridge. Among the Londoners killed were a draper, Roger Heysaunt, Matthew Gough a veteran of the French wars, and the alderman and goldsmith John Sutton, who must have been over fifty when this battle took place.⁵¹ (Plate 17.7) Ten years later a contingent of Londoners marched north under the leadership of a mercer, John Harowe, to fight, unsuccessfully, for Richard duke of York at Wakefield.⁵² So not all Londoners were devoid of military experience and one alderman, at least, died in the defence of the City.

What seems to have happened, however, is that the Londoners developed their own brand of chivalric spectacle which, while being influenced by chivalric tournaments and romances, yet had a distinct, possibly bourgeois, character of its own. This may be seen in the emergence of

the city ceremonial of the Marching Watch at midsummer. Midsummer watches were recorded in the City from the early thirteenth century, but it appears that in the later fourteenth century the ritual of these occasions was enhanced, and a marching watch though the centre of the City was introduced to supplement the standing watches in the wards. In 1378 the aldermen and the good men of the ward were instructed to be 'arrayed in red and white, particoloured, over your armour'.⁵³ In the later sixteenth century, when the Midsummer Watch had been abolished for fifty years, John Stow wrote nostalgically of the communal festivities around the feasts of St John the Baptist (24 June) and SS Peter and Paul (29 June) when houses were decorated with greenery and every ward provided standing watches 'all in bright harnes'.⁵⁴ About two thousand men took part in the Marching Watch itself: some were old soldiers, some musicians, some archers and some pikemen. The City companies provided a mass of torches and cressets, some nine hundred in all, and the marchers were accompanied by pageants and Morris dancers. The 240 ward constables marched with the Watch and, at the climax of the procession, rode the mayor, the City's king.

... the waytes of the City, the mayor's officers, for his guard before him, all in a livery of wolsted or say iacquets party coloured, the mayor himself well mounted on horseback, the sword bearer before him in fayre armour well mounted also, the mayor's footmen, and the like torch bearers about him, hench men twaine upon great stirring horses following him. The sheriffs watches came one after the other in like order, but not so large in number as the mayor's, for where the mayor had beside his Giant, three Pageants, each of the sheriffs had beside their Giants but two pageants, ech their Morris dance, and one hench man their officers in iacquets of wolsted, or say party coloured, differing from the mayors, and each from other, but having harnised men a great many ...⁵⁵

The addition of pageants to the Midsummer Watch seems to have taken place in the course of the fifteenth century.⁵⁶ What is clear is that by the time that Stow remembered in the 1520s, the Londoners had created their own 'chivalric ritual', less elitist than the chivalry of the Court, but yet displaying its own blend of glamour, spectacle and excitement.

At about the same time the City was developing another civic ceremony, the 'riding' of the new mayor from London to Westminster to take his oath to the sovereign. This took place every year on October 28th.

Here, as in the Midsummer Watch, the mayor was the focus of the procession. What had originally been a straightforward business occasion had developed by the fifteenth century into a journey of considerable civic pageantry.⁵⁷ The mayor was now escorted as he rode by members of the different city companies dressed in their liveries and accompanied by minstrels. For the occasion the aldermen wore new liveries and, when they returned to the City, the new mayor gave a banquet at his home or at his company hall or (after the new kitchens were built in 1501–5) at Guildhall itself. Clearly the ‘pantomime’ additions to the riding were thought to be getting out of hand for in 1481 it was decided that ‘there shall no disguysing nor pageoun be used or hadde’.⁵⁸ This pageantry that had come to surround the mayor’s riding to Westminster reflects the increasing ceremony which had come to be attached to the office of mayor. Indeed it would appear that a sort of ‘gentrification’ was overtaking the mayor’s office. The emergence of the mayor’s swordbearer well illustrates this development. In the early fourteenth century the mayor’s household was composed simply of a corps of sergeants,⁵⁹ but by 1381, when William Walworth rode out with Richard II to meet Wat Tyler at Smithfield, he was accompanied by John Blyton ‘that bore the Mayor’s sword of London’, and it was Blyton who seems to have provoked the struggle in which Tyler was mortally wounded.⁶⁰ When, in June 1425, the duke of Gloucester and other lords visited the City, the clerk who compiled the City’s Journals noted that, on this occasion, the mayor and his swordbearer took precedence over the duke and his swordbearer.⁶¹ In 1441 the mayor’s swordbearer again led the duke of Gloucester and other lords into Guildhall for a special judicial session, and when the mayor welcomed the French ambassadors at London Bridge in July 1445 he had his gilt sword borne ceremoniously before him.⁶² The City, in transforming one of the mayor’s sergeants into a swordbearer (and raising his salary), was acknowledging his important role in civic ceremony, and in adding dignity and honour to the mayor’s office.⁶³

The accretions to the Midsummer Watch and to the Mayor’s Riding were clearly influenced to some degree by the chivalric practices and spectacles of the royal court. But there is a significant difference between the chivalric tournament processions in Cheapside in 1331, or the progress of the ‘lady of the Sun’ through the London streets in 1375, and the London Midsummer Watch or Mayor’s Riding. All these processions included men on horseback, fine costumes, spectacular lighting, music and pageantry but, whereas the courtly processions gave a prominent role to the ladies of the court, the civic processions were entirely male. There was no

part allocated to the mayor's consort, nor to the wives of the aldermen: the civic processions expressed the need to defend the City and to rule it, and women had no role to play in either task. So, although the City adopted and adapted some of the ingredients of a chivalric culture from the royal tournaments and processions, this never extended to adopting in public the chivalric attitude to women. It might well have been considered that the women of London were too busy at work in the City to have time to cavort through the streets of London as chivalric playthings: they had a real role to play in the economy of the City and the spectacle of the mayor's wife riding through the streets of London dressed as Guinevere would have seemed inappropriate, if not absurd. In this respect the Londoners appear to have eschewed chivalric attitudes and substituted their own more sober values.

The culture of the Court met London culture directly in the various elaborate ceremonials devised to welcome the sovereign, or his consort, to the City. Here, if anywhere, one would expect the Londoners to adopt chivalric or romantic themes. But this appears not to have been the case. In 1392 the four 'reconciliation pageants' with which the City greeted Richard II were religious in theme and closely modelled on the liturgy used for Advent.⁶⁴ The welcome put on by the City for Henry V after his victory at Agincourt in 1415 was dominated by religious pageants in which choirs sang psalms and hymns.⁶⁵ In 1432 the City staged a reception for the young Henry VI on his return from his coronation in Paris. On this occasion the theme was less religious: instead the king was treated to a series of didactic pageants, many of them classical in inspiration. There was nothing light-hearted or chivalric: rather the king received numerous messages of instruction and good will.⁶⁶ When Margaret of Anjou arrived as Henry's bride in 1445 the civic welcome was inspired once again by religion: there were pageants of St Margaret, the wise and foolish virgins, and the Assumption of the Virgin.⁶⁷ Again the Londoners did not choose to refer to knights or Arthurian romance or courtly love: the focus was not on castles and courtly ladies, but rather the heavenly city inhabited by angels.

Although these London 'joyeuses entrees' were predominantly religious, and didactic, in theme and eschewed chivalric imagery, yet they frequently employed heraldic motifs of all kinds. In 1415 the conduit in Cornhill was converted into a tent bearing 'in four prominent places, the arms of St George, St Edward and St Edmund and of England encircled the middle of the tower, with, in between them, escutcheons of the royal arms

...⁶⁸ So too, the Mayor's Riding came increasingly to use the language of heraldry. An account of the Riding in 1419 makes no reference to heraldic arms but by the sixteenth century the mayor was accompanied by two standard bearers, one carrying the arms of the City and the other the arms of the company to which the mayor belonged. The mayor was then followed by seventy or eighty poor men, each carrying a pike and target bearing the arms of all the past mayors who had belonged to the same company as the present mayor, and, bringing up the rear, were two men bearing the royal arms and the personal arms of the mayor.⁶⁹ But although this public use of heraldry by the Londoners seems to have developed in the fifteenth century, yet it is clear from a study of their seals that some Londoners had been using armorial escutcheons since the fourteenth century.⁷⁰ An analysis of a group of the personal seals used by Londoners (almost all fourteenth-century) shows that over half used an armorial seal: those who did not chose religious imagery, a merchant's mark or some flora or fauna.⁷¹ Sometimes, when the Londoner came from knightly stock, as in the case of Richard Whittington, these arms were inherited. Whittington's seal, the silver spoons which once belonged to him and are now in the possession of the Mercers' Company, and the ordinances for his almshouses, all display the arms of the Whittingtons of Pauntley in Gloucestershire with the anulet as a mark of difference.⁷² (Plates 17.1–17.3) But in the fourteenth century it seems likely that most Londoners who wanted a heraldic device for use on their seals, or to stamp their works of charity, simply assumed a coat of arms which they designed themselves along conventional and acceptable lines.⁷³ Sometimes the shield did not conform to developing heraldic practice. Several Londoners chose to use puns on their names: John Pyke's shield bore two pike, and John Wells displayed two wells on his shield.⁷⁴ On occasion the arms strayed yet further from what was to become acceptable heraldic practice: the shield might fail to be divided symmetrically, or the owner's initials might form the charges.⁷⁵ There is no doubt that by the end of the fourteenth century the use of arms was widespread among London citizens and when the mayor's seal was redesigned in 1381 it incorporated a neat blend of religious and heraldic imagery:

In which new Seal, besides the figures of Peter and Paul, which in the old one were rudely made, beneath the feet of the said figures a shield of the arms of the said city is perfectly graven, with two lions guardant; two serjeants-at-arms being above [one] on either

side, and two pavilions (*tabernacula*), in which there are two angels standing above; and between the two figures of Peter and Paul the figure of the Glorious Virgin is seated.⁷⁶ (Plates 17.4 and 17.5)

This seal is definitely more heraldic than the City's common seal which had been designed in the previous century and employed exclusively religious and civic imagery. (Plate 17.6)

The easygoing attitude of the Londoners towards their coats of arms began to change in the fifteenth century as the heralds came to take control of such matters. William Bruges, the first King at Arms, was appointed in 1415. In fact some of the earliest formal grants of arms were made to city companies: the Drapers (1448), Tallow Chandlers (1456), Cooks (1461 and 1467) and the Confraternity in Guildhall Chapel in 1482.⁷⁷ In 1446–49 Robert Leigh, Clarenceux Herald, seems to have made a visitation of the City of London, and it may have been in response to this visit that a remarkable series of full-length painted figures of the mayor and aldermen were devised. (Plate 17.7) They are clearly closely modelled on the drawings in the Garter Book of William Bruges painted a decade earlier.⁷⁸ All but five of the aldermen bear their own personal arms, and six have crests. Each alderman supports a frame of blank shields which were clearly intended to be painted subsequently with the arms of succeeding aldermen in the ward. Some of these have been filled in. In the case of the five aldermen who do not display their personal arms, this may be the result of the arms having been disallowed by Clarenceux. Stephen Forster, for example, used a non-armorial seal which bore his merchant's mark of a broad arrow head, and in the Leigh drawing no arms are ascribed to him.⁷⁹ In the early 1530s the heralds again visited the City in order to inspect funeral monuments in city churches. The purpose of the heralds' visitation was twofold: to record ancient tombs and coats of arms and, also, to remove or deface escutcheons which were wrongfully used or 'markys of marchands and other put into scochyns as tokyns of oner'.⁸⁰ But, in spite of the increasingly interventionist approach of the heralds, it is clear that the Londoners had, for a long time, been using heraldic shields and coats of arms, as it suited them, not as a means of advancement up the social ladder but as a convenient method of self-identification.

It may be enlightening to consider the ways in which London merchants chose to represent themselves on their funeral brasses. As a result of the Great Fire of 1666 very few tombs survive from medieval London, and several of these are of nobles or knights (e.g. in the church of St Peter



Plate 17.1. Seal of Richard Whittington, 1409 (BL, Add. MS 14820 [H]). Reproduced by permission of the British Library.



Plate 17.2. Four Whittington spoons, silver, maker unknown, 1410–20. Photograph by Louis Sinclair; reproduced by courtesy of the Mercers' Company.



Plate 17.3. Richard Whittington on his deathbed, March 1423 (Whittington College Ordinances 1442), attributed to William Abell, pen and ink on vellum. Photograph by Louis Sinclair; reproduced by courtesy of the Mercers' Company.



Plate 17.4. (left) First Mayoralty Seal of the City of London, from Llewellyn Jewitt and W. H. St John Hope, *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office of the Cities and Towns of England and Wales* (London, 1895), 121.



Plate 17.5. Second Mayoralty Seal of the City of London, made in 1381, from Llewellyn Jewitt and W.H. St John Hope, *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office of the Cities and Towns of England and Wales* (London, 1895), 122.



Plate 17.6. The thirteenth-century Common Seal of London, from Llewellyn Jewitt and W.H. St John Hope, *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office of the Cities and Towns of England and Wales* (London, 1895), 119.



Plate 17.7. Alderman John Sutton from the Leigh Book, London Metropolitan Archives (formerly Guildhall Library). Photograph supplied by Jeremy Butler. Reproduced by permission of the Guildhall Library, Corporation of London.

ad Vincula in the Tower) rather than of London citizens.⁸¹ John Stow, however, describes in detail the brass of the notorious merchant, vintner and alderman, Richard Lyons who was murdered in 1381

his picture on his grave stone verie faire and large, is with his haire rounded by his eares, and curled, a little beard forked, a gowne girt to him downe to his feete, of branched Damaske wrought with the likenes of flowers, a large pursse on his right side, hanging in a belt from his left shoulder, a plaine whoode about his necke, covering his shoulders, and hanging backe behinde him⁸²

It is clear, from this remarkable and unusual description from the pen of John Stow, that Richard Lyons, who was closely associated with the Court in the closing years of Edward III, was represented on his tomb, not as a knight but as a prosperous merchant. In the same decade, the London stockfishmonger, William Frith died and chose to be buried alongside his brother John Frith, a priest in Shottesbrook in Berkshire. William Frith may have been at the start of his London career: he had served as common councilman for the ward of Dowgate, two years before he drew up his will.⁸³ At Shottesbrook there is a joint brass for William and his brother John who may have been the warden of the college at Shottesbrook. William's brass depicts him very much as Lyons had chosen to be portrayed, except that William's gown is short rather than long, and he bears a sword rather than a purse. (Plate 17.8) But he is definitely not represented as a knight.⁸⁴ Simon Seman, another vintner, who was alderman of Bishopsgate ward from 1422 to 1433, and sheriff in 1424–5, was buried at Barton on Humber in north Lincolnshire. On his brass he is dressed as a civilian, standing on wine casks surrounded by an inscription and his merchant mark. In his case, he bears neither a sword, nor a purse, and his gown comes almost to his feet.⁸⁵ (Plate 17.9) None of these brasses suggests that the men commemorated were aspiring to knightly status: rather they were happy to be presented as prosperous civilians, garbed for peace rather than war.

It is worth observing that very few Londoners were knighted in this period. Richard de Refham was knighted c. 1312 and, twenty-five years later, the famous mayor, and builder of Penshurst Place in Kent, John Pulteney, was knighted.⁸⁶ But, during the rest of Edward III's reign, when Englishmen were winning knighthoods from their sovereign for service in the French wars, the Londoners appear to have eschewed, or avoided, such elevation. It was Wat Tyler who provoked Richard II into knighting five

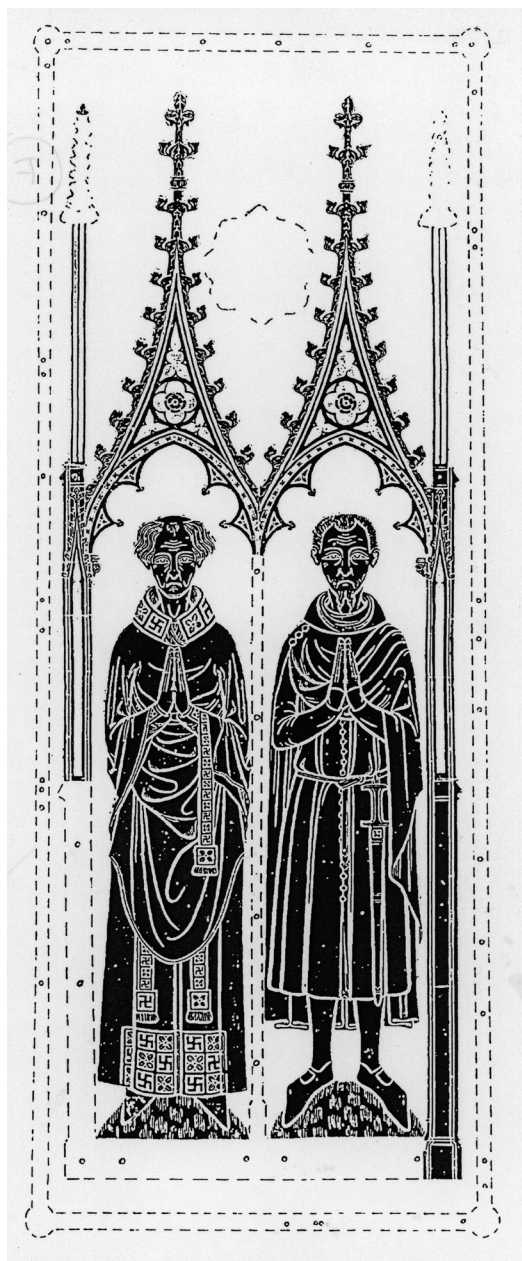


Plate 17.8. Brass of John Frith, priest, and his brother William, fishmonger of London, at Shottesbrooke, Berkshire, c. 1386

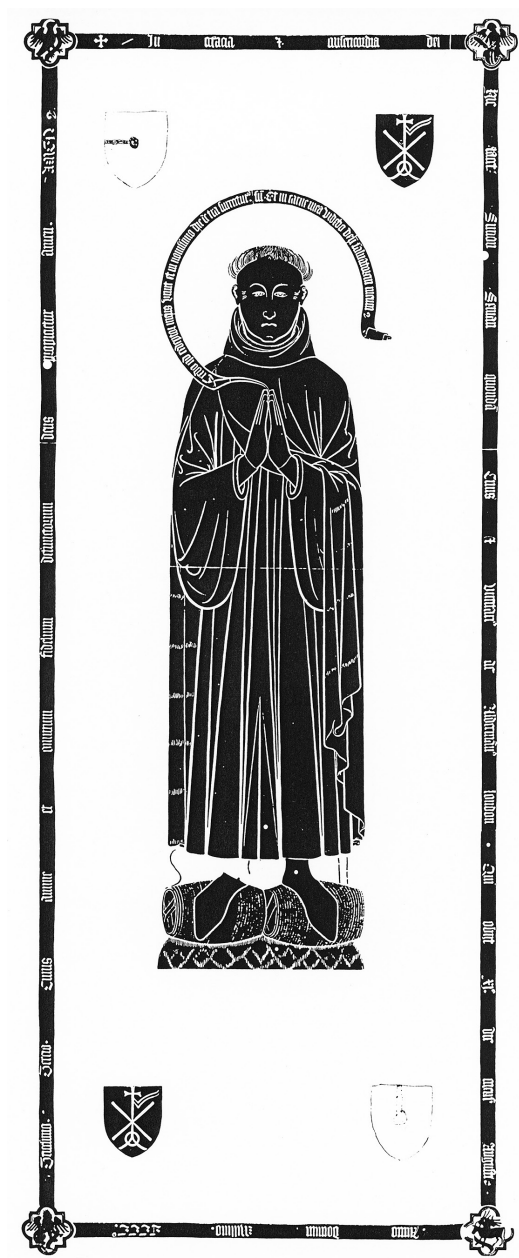


Plate 17.9. Brass of the London vintner Simon Seman at St Mary's church, Barton-on-Humber, Lincolnshire, c. 1433

Londoners on a squalid English battlefield: the mayor William Walworth, and four aldermen, Nicholas Brembre, John Philpot, Nicholas Twyford and Robert Launde.⁸⁷ In the sixteenth century the story of the knighting of the five Londoners was embellished in a significant way. When the king told Walworth of his intention to make him a knight, 'the Maior answered, that hee was neither worthie nor able to take such estate upon him, for he was but a Marchant, and had to live by his Marchandise only'. But the will of the king prevailed and he 'strongly stroke him on the necke' and to support their knighthoods, Richard gave the five men lands to provide the requisite unearned income.⁸⁸ In fact most London aldermen in the fourteenth century had more than enough manors to support a knighthood, but they were disinclined to seek such an honour: men like the mercers Adam Fraunceys and Richard Whittington, the draper John Hende and the goldsmith Drew Barantyn to name only a few examples. These Londoners were, without doubt, sufficiently wealthy to support a knighthood, and close enough to the Crown to have bought one had they so wished. It was to be sixty years before another Londoner was knighted: in 1439 William Estfield became Sir William, five years before his death. He was, without doubt, the outstanding Londoner of his generation: born in Yorkshire, he was apprenticed as a mercer, alderman in 1423, twice mayor (1429–30 and 1437–8), four times master of his company and three times an MP for the city. His seals, however, were not armorial, and on one of them he displayed his merchant's mark.⁸⁹ No other Londoner followed Estfield into the knightly class until the accession of Edward IV, but then the situation changed dramatically. At his own coronation Edward knighted the mercer, William Cantelowe, and at the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville in 1465 he knighted the mayor, Ralph Josselyn and three other aldermen, Thomas Cook, Hugh Wyche and John Plomer.⁹⁰ After the battle of Tewkesbury in 1471 Edward knighted the six aldermen who had already served as mayor, and six who had not and so, at a stroke, half the court of aldermen had become knights. After this it became customary for the mayor of London to be knighted, either during his mayoralty or soon afterwards. This change must reflect not only the Yorkists' anxious search for support, but also the increased desire of London merchants to become knights.

The reign of Edward IV saw not only a revival of chivalry but also a change in the nature of chivalric practice. Under the influence of Burgundy the king encouraged a rapid development in the outward and visible aspects of royalty in which chivalric protocol had an important role

to play.⁹¹ It was in Edward's reign that William Caxton, apprenticed to the London mercer Robert Large in 1438, began to print the books which were to play so important a part in the 'Indian summer' of English chivalry: *The Recuyell of the Histories of Troy* (1475), *History of Jason* (1477), *Chronicles of England* (1480), *Godfrey of Boloyn* (1481), *Troilus and Criseyde* (1483), *Order of Chivalry* (1484) and *Morte d'Arthur* (1485).⁹² Caxton was not responsible for this revival of interest in chivalry but, rather, he responded to it. At the great Smithfield tournament in 1467 the mayor and aldermen were honoured guests rather than participants yet, in 1482 the king invited the leading citizens to hunt with him at Waltham, to dine with him at his hunting lodge on venison and Gascon wine, and take home with them to the City some of the day's spoils. Moreover, to round off the chivalric courtesy of the occasion, the king despatched two harts, six bucks and a tun of Gascon wine to the 'mayeresse and unto the aldyrmennys wyfys' so that they might also enjoy a feast in Drapers' Hall.⁹³ Doubtless Edward's motives were as much financial as chivalric, but it is clear that it was no longer unthinkable that the London merchants should participate in the festivities of the Court. Henry VII invited the mayor, aldermen and other Londoners to the Epiphany celebrations in 1494 when there were elaborate pageants, 'disguisings' and dancing. The king chose this occasion to dub the mayor a knight, and the feasting continued all night until at day break the king and queen returned to Westminster Palace and the mayor and his brethren took their barges back to London.⁹⁴ The knighthoods which were increasingly conferred on the London aldermen, and their participation in courtly festivities, symbolise the way in which the chivalric world of the Court and the mercantile world of the London citizens were moving closer together. Although, a hundred years earlier, it was rare to find Londoners in possession of chivalric manuscripts, by contrast many of Caxton's printed books found their way into London hands. For example the Huntington Library copy of the *Recuyell of the Histories of Troy* probably belonged at one time to Thomas Shukburghe the younger, a modest London draper, and the Philadelphia copy of *Godfrey of Boloyn* was in the possession of the mercer, Roger Thorney.⁹⁵

But what, of course, had also changed was the nature of medieval warfare. Caxton, in his introduction to the *Order of Chivalry*, urged Richard III to hold jousts twice a year 'to the end that every knight should have horse and harness and also the use and craft of a knight, and also to tourney one against one or two against two and the best to have a prize,

a diamond or a jewel . . . that the noble order of chivalry be hereafter better used and honoured than it hath been in late days past'.⁹⁶ But Caxton was crying for a lost world. The increasing use of infantry in large-scale battles, and the devastating and indiscriminate fire power of guns, rendered the customs of chivalrous combat either irrelevant or suicidal. It has been pointed out that, although war was glamorised in the sixteenth century with elaborate armour and books of military instruction, yet in fact 'it was clear that war was in hard fact becoming more impersonal, brutal and squalid'. Gunpowder destroyed 'the dignity of knighthood by allowing a common soldier to kill a gentleman from afar'.⁹⁷ Moreover this new kind of warfare was not only squalid: it was also expensive. Maurice Keen has pointed out that 'It was one thing, in accordance with ancient ways, to expect a man at arms to come to the host equipped with his own horses and armour, but no one, in the new conditions of war, expected a master of artillery to provide his own cannon'.⁹⁸ Only princes could finance artillery warfare. But the chivalric code lingered on, tempered by the new humanism, as a set of values which lingers still, more readily felt than defined.⁹⁹ As the heroic deeds of English knighthood moved further away from the battlefield and onto the printed page, so it became increasingly possible for the merchants of London to become knights themselves. In this new wistful, and make-believe, world, they too could play a part.

NOTES

* I am very grateful to Maurice Keen for his generous discussions of the matters reviewed in this paper over a number of years.

¹ Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (London, 1984), 239, cf. 16–17.

² *Ibid.*, 253.

³ William Jackson, 'The Tournament and Chivalry in the German Tournament Books of the Sixteenth Century and in the Literary Works of the Emperor Maximilian I', in Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (eds), *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood* (Woodbridge, 1986), 49–73, esp. 56–7.

⁴ Juliet Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context 1270–1350* (Woodbridge, 1982), esp. ch. 2.

⁵ W. Prevenier, 'Court and Culture in the Low Countries 1100–1530', in Erik Kooper (ed.), *Medieval Dutch Literature in its European Context* (Cambridge, 1994), 11–29.

⁶ John Lerner, *Italy in the Age of Dante and Petrarch 1216–1380* (London, 1980), chs 5 and 9.

⁷ See Caroline Barron, 'Introduction: England and the Low Countries 1327–1477', in Caroline Barron and Nigel Saul (eds), *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1995), 1–28, esp. 15–19.

⁸ Hugh E. L. Collins, *The Order of the Garter 1348–1461: Chivalry and Policy in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2000), esp. 39–44, 83–5, 288–95.

⁹ C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity* (London, 1986), 28–9.

¹⁰ Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, Appendix 12, 172–4.

¹¹ *Annales Paulini* in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols (Rolls Series, 1882–83), i, 354–5; Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. H. T. Riley, 2 vols (Rolls Series, 1863–64), i, 193 who adds the detail that the jousts were held between the Cheapside Cross and Soper Lane.

¹² John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, 2 vols (Oxford, 1908), ii, 29–30.

¹³ Vale suggests that the Londoners may have been amongst the 'all comers' against whom royal teams made a stand in London locations, but there is no evidence for this, and it is likely that a chronicler with a London focus, such as the author of the *Annales Paulini*, would have mentioned London participation in such a challenge, *Edward III and Chivalry*, 63.

¹⁴ *Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis*, ed. James Tait (Manchester, 1914), 131–2, 275.

¹⁵ Such sheriffs' accounts are found scattered among the Exchequer classes at the PRO; see Sydney Anglo, 'Financial and Heraldic Records of the English Tournament', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 2 (1960), 183–95, esp. 185–7, 193–4.

¹⁶ *Calendar of Letter Books: Letter Book H*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (London, 1907), 353; *Memorials of London and London Life in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. H. T. Riley (London, 1868), 521–2; see *The Westminster Chronicle*, ed. L. C. Hector and B. Harvey (Oxford, 1982), 433, 436, 450.

¹⁷ Sheila Lindenbaum, 'The Smithfield Tournament of 1390', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 20 (1990), 1–20, esp. 9.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 11; although we do not entirely agree in our interpretations of the tournament of 1390, I am extremely grateful to Dr Lindenbaum for her generous references and for many very helpful discussions.

¹⁹ J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV*, 4 vols (London, 1884–98), iv, 213; Stow, *Survey*, i, 93, and ii, 31, 171; it appears that a number of those who came to take part in the jousts, took the opportunity to join the fraternity dedicated to the Holy Trinity in the nearby parish church of St Botolph outside Aldersgate, see P. Basing, *Parish Fraternity Register: Fraternity of the Holy Trinity and SS Fabian and Sebastian in the Parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate* (London Record Society, 1982), xxiv.

²⁰ Now Pierpont Morgan Library MS 775, esp. fo. 277v. The manuscript was compiled about 1470 and Sir John died in 1486. This famous manuscript has been most recently described in Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390–1490*, 2 vols (London, 1996), i, 385, 386, ii, 289–93; see also, Anglo, ‘Financial and Heraldic Records’, 191.

²¹ Arthur B. Ferguson, *The Indian Summer of English Chivalry* (Durham, North Carolina, 1960), 18–19, 21.

²² See Sydney Anglo, ‘Anglo-Burgundian Feats of Arms: Smithfield June 1467’, *Guildhall Miscellany*, 2 (1965), 271–83, esp. 272–3.

²³ *Ibid.*, 277; *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley (London, 1938), 203–4.

²⁴ For an opposing view, see Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, 62–3.

²⁵ *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Society, 1876), 236.

²⁶ These problems are well analysed in Kate Harris, ‘Patrons, Buyers and Owners: The Evidence for Ownership and the Role of Book Owners in Book Production and the Book Trade’, in Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (eds), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475* (Cambridge, 1989), 163–99.

²⁷ Susan H. Cavanaugh, ‘A Study of Books Privately Owned in England 1300–1450’ (unpublished University of Pennsylvania Ph.D. dissertation, 1980).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 76–9.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 381, 485–6.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 139.

³¹ A strong case for the role of the gentry (as opposed to the aristocracy or an urban middle class) in the diffusion of romances, has been put by Peter Coss, ‘Aspects of Cultural Diffusion in Medieval England: The Early Romances, Local Society and Robin Hood’, *Past and Present*, 108 (1985), 35–79.

³² Sylvia L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London 1300–1500* (University of Michigan, 1948), 162–3, and cf. her discussion of the rather different reading favoured by the gentry, 248.

³³ *Testamentary Records in the Archdeaconry Court of London (1363)–1649*, ed. M. Fitch (British Record Society, 1979). I am very grateful to Robert Wood for allowing me to cite material which he derived from reading these wills.

³⁴ Corporation of London Records Office, MS 9051/1 fo. 127. Nicholas had married Alice Albon, daughter of John Albon, woodmonger, and owned some property in the city, *Letter Book H*, ed. Sharpe, 387, 422.

³⁵ Cavanaugh, ‘Books Privately Owned’, 167–70.

³⁶ *Calendar of Select Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London 1381–1412*, ed. A. H. Thomas (Cambridge, 1932), 10–11.

³⁷ Cavanaugh, ‘Books Privately Owned’, 904–6.

³⁸ See, for example, the books bequeathed in the will of John Carpenter. For the civic oaths, see *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis: Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum et Liber Horn*, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Series, 1859–60), vol. i, 306–19;

for the guild returns, see Caroline M. Barron and Laura Wright, 'The London Middle English Guild Certificates of 1388–9', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 39 (1995), 108–45, esp. 110. The Goldsmiths' Company kept its records in French until the middle of the fifteenth century.

³⁹ Caroline M. Barron, 'Centres of Conspicuous Consumption: The Aristocratic Town House in London 1200–1550', *London Journal*, 20 (1995), 1–16. [Reprinted as Chapter 15 in the present volume].

⁴⁰ See M. D. Lobel, *The City of London from Prehistoric Times to c. 1520* (Oxford, 1989), 93, 97.

⁴¹ Anglo, 'Financial and Heraldic Records', 184–5.

⁴² Lobel, *City of London*, 59–62, 65.

⁴³ Copied into *Liber Custumarum* drawn up by Andrew Horn in the early fourteenth century, see *Liber Albus*, ed. Riley, vol. ii, part I, 147–51; see also Stow, *Survey*, i, 62–5, ii, 278–9.

⁴⁴ *Memorials*, ed. Riley, 236–7.

⁴⁵ M. Bateson, 'A London Municipal Collection of the Reign of King John', *English Historical Review*, 17 (1902), 480–511, 707–30, esp. 727–8.

⁴⁶ *Letter Book H*, ed. Sharpe, 65; this precept to the aldermen was repeated in September 1386, *ibid.*, 286.

⁴⁷ Hector and Harvey, *Westminster Chronicle*, 217.

⁴⁸ Caroline M. Barron, 'The Government of London and its Relations with the Crown 1400–1450' (unpublished University of London Ph.D. thesis, 1970), 457–63.

⁴⁹ Goldsmiths' Hall, MS 1518, Account Book A 1332–1442, fo. 166; MS 1520, Account Book A 1444–1516, fos 32–3. 128 goldsmiths contributed to these costs.

⁵⁰ For Astley, see above p. 484; he was paid a total of £30 in wages for acting as Captain of the City's contingent, Corporation of London Record Office, Journal 5 fo. 12v; for Fyndern, see CLRO, Journal 5, fos 58v, 59. For a biography of Fyndern, see J. S. Roskell, Linda Clark and Carole Rawcliffe, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1386–1421*, 4 vols (Stroud, 1992), iii, 152–4.

⁵¹ Barron, 'Government of London', 523–4; I. M. W. Harvey, *Jack Cade's Rebellion of 1450* (Oxford, 1991), 96. Sutton completed his apprenticeship by 1417, and was warden of the Company in 1426, alderman in 1436, see T. F. Reddaway and E. M. Walker, *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company 1327–1509* (London, 1975), 310.

⁵² The battle took place 30 December 1469. John Harowe was probably born c. 1406, so he would also have been over fifty at the time of the battle, see Caroline M. Barron, 'London and the Crown 1451–61', in J. R. L. Highfield and Robin Jeffs (eds), *The Crown and the Local Communities in England and France in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester, 1981), 88–109, esp. 108. [Reprinted as Chapter 3 in the present volume.]

⁵³ Sheila Lindenbaum, 'Ceremony and Oligarchy: The London Midsummer

Watch' in Barbara Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson (eds), *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Minneapolis, 1994), 171–88, esp. 184; *Memorials*, ed. Riley, 420–1.

⁵⁴ Stow, *Survey*, i, 101–3.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 102–3.

⁵⁶ Lindenbaum, 'Ceremony and Oligarchy', 184 n. 10.

⁵⁷ On the development of the Lord Mayor's Show, see Sheila Williams, 'The Lord Mayor's Show in Tudor and Stuart Times', *Guildhall Miscellany*, 10 (1959), 3–18; Michael Berlin, 'Civic Ceremony in Early Modern London', *Urban History Yearbook* (1986), 15–27.

⁵⁸ *Letter Book L*, ed. Sharpe, 187.

⁵⁹ Betty R. Masters, 'The Mayor's Household before 1600', in W. Kellaway and A. Hollaender (eds), *Studies in London History* (London, 1969), 95–114.

⁶⁰ *Chronicle of London*, ed. H. N. Nicolas (London, 1827), 74; in 1395, John Blyton 'late the Mayor's Esquire', was granted the mansion over Aldersgate, *Letter Book H*, ed. Sharpe, 433.

⁶¹ 5 June 1425, CLRO, Journal 2, fo. 15v.

⁶² CLRO, Journal 3, fo. 78; *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France*, ed. J. Stevenson (Rolls Series, 1861–64), i, 101–2, 156–7.

⁶³ John Medford, who described himself as 'esquire' and had a modest landed estate in Surrey, was the City's swordbearer from 1467 to 1485. He was given an annual salary of 20s and a reward of 40s, as well as a house over the gate at Guildhall. Medford was MP for Guildford in 1453. I am very grateful to Dr Matthew Davies and the History of Parliament Trust for allowing me to see the biography of Medford in advance of publication.

⁶⁴ Richard of Maidstone's poem describing the reception is printed in *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. T. Wright, 2 vols (Rolls Series, 1859–61), i, 282–300; partially translated in E. Rickert, *Chaucer's World* (Oxford, 1948), 35–9; for the liturgical aspects of the reception, see Gordon Kipling, 'Richard II's "Sumptuous Pageants" and the Idea of the Civic Triumph', in David M. Bergeron (ed.), *Pageantry in the Shakespearean Theater* (Athens, Georgia, 1985), 83–103.

⁶⁵ The best account is to be found in *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, ed. F. Taylor and J. S. Roskell (Oxford, 1975), xxxvii, 101–13. Lydgate's poem describing the pageants is printed in *ibid.*, 191–2.

⁶⁶ The best accounts are to be found in the City's Letter Book (most probably written by the Common Clerk, John Carpenter) and in Lydgate's poem which was closely based on Carpenter's letter, of which he must have had a copy, see *Letter Book H*, ed. Sharpe, 138–9; *Liber Albus*, ed. Riley, vol. iii, 457–64; Lydgate's poem is printed in *Great Chronicle*, ed. Thomas and Thornley, 156–70.

⁶⁷ Gordon Kipling, 'The London Pageants for Margaret of Anjou', *Medieval English Theatre* (1982), 5–27; *idem*, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford, 1998), 188–201.

⁶⁸ *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, ed. Taylor and Roskell, 107.

⁶⁹ Rickert, *Chaucer's World*, 39–40; William Smyth, 'Description of London

c. 1588', printed in Sir E. Brydges, *The British Bibliographer* (1810), i, 540–2; John Goodall, 'The Use of Armorial Bearings by London Aldermen in the Middle Ages', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 20 (1961), 17–21.

⁷⁰ Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, 250–1.

⁷¹ R. H. Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office: Personal Seals* (London, 1978, 1981), 2 vols. I am grateful to Dr Elizabeth New for this analysis of the London seals. There were fifty-four seals catalogued (all but six were of the fourteenth century): 56% were armorial, 24% were miscellaneous—largely naturalistic, 14% religious, and 6% used merchants' marks.

⁷² Caroline M. Barron, 'Richard Whittington: The Man behind the Myth', in Hollaender and Kellaway (eds), *Studies in London History*, 197–248, esp. pl. VIc. [reprinted as Chapter 10 and Plate 10.1 in the present volume]; Jean Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington* (London, 1968), pl. 1; Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (eds), *The Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200–1400*, exhib. cat., Royal Academy of Arts (London, 1987), 283.

⁷³ Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, 252–3.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 252, 273.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 253.

⁷⁶ *Memorials*, ed. Riley, 447–8.

⁷⁷ Anthony R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1956), ch. 8.

⁷⁸ Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, ii, 245–7, plates, 330–3; Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (eds.), *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2002), Plate XI.

⁷⁹ Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, 341.

⁸⁰ Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, Appendix D, 141.

⁸¹ Christian Steer is currently working on tombs of Londoners in the late medieval period for a University of London Ph.D.

⁸² Stow, *Survey*, i, 249; Nicholas Rogers, 'The Lost Brass of Richard Lyons', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, 13 (1982), 232–6.

⁸³ *Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, A.D. 1258 – A.D. 1688*, ed. R. R. Sharpe, 2 vols (London, 1889–90), ii, 259–60; *Letter Book H*, ed. Sharpe, 238; *Select Plea and Memoranda Rolls 1381–1412*, ed. Thomas, 87.

⁸⁴ Discussed in N. E. Saul, 'Shottesbrooke Church: A Study in Knightly Patronage', in *Windsor: Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture of the Thames Valley*, ed. Lawrence Keen and Eileen Scarff (British Archaeological Association, 2002), [264–81].

⁸⁵ Illustrated in M. Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, 1978), fig. 179.

⁸⁶ A. B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London*, 2 vols (London, 1908–13), i, 255.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Stow, *Survey*, i, 220.

⁸⁹ Beaven, *Aldermen of London*, ii, 6; Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, 338.

⁹⁰ It has been suggested that Cantelowe rendered Edward significant help before his accession, see J. L. Bolton, 'The City and the Crown, 1456–61', *The London Journal*, 12 (1986), 11–24; Beaven, *Aldermen of London*, i, 256.

⁹¹ Gordon Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (Leiden, 1977).

⁹² George D. Painter, *William Caxton* (London, 1976), 211–13.

⁹³ *Great Chronicle*, ed. Thomas and Thornley, 229; the mayor and aldermen, and other citizens, appear to have gone hunting together, particularly by the fifteenth century, in Essex. From the late fourteenth century the City paid an officer 'the Common Hunt' to organise their hunts and to look after the City's hounds which were kept in kennels at Moorgate, see Masters, 'The Mayor's Household', 99–103.

⁹⁴ *Great Chronicle*, ed. Thomas and Thornley, 251–2; Robert Fabyan's account of this great party is so detailed that it seems likely that he was one of the Londoners who accompanied the mayor to Westminster.

⁹⁵ A. I. Doyle, 'English Books in and out of Court from Edward III to Henry VII', in V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne (eds), *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1983), 163–81, esp. 180.

⁹⁶ Painter, *William Caxton*, 142.

⁹⁷ John Hale, 'War and Public Opinion in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *Past and Present*, 22 (1962), 18–33, esp. 23, 28.

⁹⁸ Keen, *Chivalry*, 241.

⁹⁹ See Steven Gunn, 'Chivalry and the Politics of the Early Tudor Court', in Sydney Anglo (ed.), *Chivalry and the Renaissance* (Woodbridge, 1990), 107–28.